177 place of frequent mobility. Stoves, blankets, candles, and matches became standard household equipment. New and better tools, including the hammer, saw, steel knife, ax, and nail, permitted the construction of the more permanent dwellings and of tables and raised beds of hewed lumber. These tools, plus the drill, also facilitated the construction of the snowshoe, toboggan, and plank boat. The ax became indispensable for cutting wood to use in stoves. Clothing came to be prepared of wool and cotton cloth, superior to moosehide in warmth, and sewing became less tedious through the use of steel needles, cotton thread, and, finally, sewing machines. River travel and transportation was facilitated by the outboard motor, while the overland transportation grew easier when horses were introduced by the gold seekers. Deadfalls were displaced for trapping fur-bearing mammals by spring traps. Native cordage was abandoned in favor of rope and thread. Tanned skin is used largely for moccasins and mittens. The bow and arrow, stone knife, stone points, and lance ceased to be manufactured. Bone and tooth ornaments were replaced by glass and metal jewelry; native face paints by cosmetics. Tattooing also disappeared.

Following acceptance of many adaptive techniques and resources from western culture, the Kaska became highly dependent upon these innovations. Today river travel without the convenience of an outboard engine is almost unthinkable; sewing is often postponed until a sewing machine can be obtained; hunting is impossible without a gun. This dependence upon recently acquired technical processes complements the previously discussed absence of any idealization of previous patterns of adaptation.

177 In the adjustive sphere of the culture the important introductions of white men in-
cluded a new language—English—with its system of numeration and of ordering time and
191 weights; a new religion, Christianity, and a new system of social control.[88] The Kaska
were also faced with the necessity of adjusting to a new ethnic group, the whites. While
the native language continued to be spoken within the society, other adjustive patterns
dropped out, such as belief in many native supernaturals as well as many avoidances and
177 taboos. Shamans ceased to be the curers of the society. Warfare stopped, and people became
subject to the system of institutionalized justice introduced by the government. After the
arrival of resident Catholic missionaries nuptials began to be celebrated with religious rites
and many marriages acquired a legally binding character. In local summer schools, priests
started to give Kaska children elementary training in reading and writing; a few older boys
and girls were sent to boarding schools located outside of the Cassiar. New patterns of
amusement were introduced, including listening to recorded music, face-to-face ballroom
[207] dancing, and poker. More recently the radio has become a popular instrument, while the
United States Army permitted a number of young people to see occasional motion pictures.

The early traders tried to institute some degree of government among the Indians in
177 order to improve the collection of fur. They appointed "chiefs," whose main duty was to
622 stimulate energetic trapping. To enhance their status, some chiefs received certain distinc-

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[88] The French language never developed in the Cassiar as it did in the Mackenzie Basin. Contact with the French was restricted to the eastern fringes of the Kaska. Once the Cassiar was thoroughly penetrated (about 1870), the day of these traders was over and the Hudson's Bay Company was using English and Scotch representatives. Missionary influence was also late; when the French-Catholic Oblates arrived they readily accepted English as the second language of the people.

tive articles of clothing, like colored coats. Men selected for leadership were usually in- 177
fluential "talkers" and were annually provided with food to be distributed at a feast or 622
apportioned to families. This type of government has now been replaced by a still looser form, chiefs being designated by the Indian Agent. Present day Indian leaders have practically no social functions.

From trappers, miners, traders, and other visitors to the region, the Kaska gradually 177
accumulated a knowledge of the "outside"—the cities of the American continent and foreign countries. Illustrated papers and magazines increased the vividness of this knowledge and by their aid some adults laboriously learned to read. Through these agents of culture change, the Indians also acquired an appetite for alcoholic beverages as well as the knowledge for preparing them. In recent years, the presence of United States soldiers in the area greatly influenced the Indians' opinion of "Americans," stereotyped attitudes toward this group being formed which differ sharply from those held about Canadians.

In many respects, however, the ideological and emotional aspects of Kaska culture do not follow the pattern of the white society, and processes of child socialization still adhere to aboriginal lines. Certain traits were only partially accepted or, being adopted, received a different interpretation by the Indians. Many adaptive and adjustive features of the aboriginal culture remain, sometimes slightly modified, alongside the newly acquired patterns. In certain parts of the Kaska area (notably Frances Lake), acculturation has proceeded more slowly than in others. Because some individuals were raised by white fathers or in the service of white men, differences in ideological and emotional acculturation must also be recognized as occurring between individuals and families constituting the society.

The end product of these hundred years of contact between western society and the Kaska Indians is present day Kaska culture.

183 eary range of supervision. During the rest of the year, after the people have dispersed to
642 their trapping districts, the authority becomes greatly relaxed. Only rarely do police operate far afield from the trading post.

622 Apart from the representatives of the provincial and Dominion law enforcement agencies, and the Indian Affairs Branch, political authority is nominally invested in native chiefs. Theoretically, each tribe or district is supposed to have a chief. Actually, only the Nelson people have such an executive and he is apparently expected to represent the whole Kaska nation. The chief is appointed by the Indian Agent for an indefinite period without remuneration. The duties of the chief are poorly defined, but he may be regarded as a *liaison* officer between the government officials and the people.

622 The current chief is personally a rather ineffectual person whose nominal authority in
554 no way increases his prestige among the Indians. Since no prerogatives are attached to the office, it is not surprising that his status is not different from that of any other mature adult. The general attitude toward the chief is one of criticism for his failure to be more assertive in the service of his people. Old Kean expressed his opinion of the current chief in the following words: "Just like kid. Never talk nothing. Just sit down one place. That's why nobody go down there [i.e., to the east reserve]. Just stop alone." The fact that the chief does not belong to Old Kean's tribe is undoubtedly a factor influencing the latter's attitude. Observation failed to support the old man's statement that the east reserve was deliberately avoided by the bulk of the society.

622 When the chieftainship was vacant several years ago two Upper Liard men, Old Kean and Old Man, rejected offers of appointment to the position, the former because he felt himself to be too old and the latter because, not receiving payment for his service, he thought people would not listen to him. River Joe is reported to have sought the office unsuccessfully.

656 It has already been pointed out that the principal governmental activity, with which
183 the Kaska have experience, is regulation. The most common subjects of such regulation are
625 trapping and drinking. In the exercise of their regulatory functions the governments, through their agents, do not act in a manner calculated to allay the Indian's antipathy to authority. In the past there are said to have been police officers willing to overlook many minor infractions of laws applying to Indians, particularly those applying to drinking. Currently policemen, whose problems have greatly increased as a result of the opening of the area by the Alaska Highway and the subsequent influx of strangers, are much more rigorous. During the period of field work they frequently acted as detectives, patrolling Lower Post late at night and visiting camps in order to apprehend misdemeanors.[20] As a result most of the people have learned to be constantly wary of the police. Young men, even if innocent of any offense, often flee and hide when an officer is reported to be approaching. In short,

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[20] It is not uncommon for provincial and Dominion police to enter a tent or cabin without a warrant if they have reason to suspect drinking. While Indians are unaware of the powers of a warrant, they resent the invasion of their privacy. From white men Indians have learned to question the right of the Mounted Police to operate in British Columbia, where a local police organization is maintained. The Mounties explain that they are free to operate anywhere in the Dominion of Canada when engaged in the enforcement of national revenue (liquor) and Indian regulations.

601 171 Two grandparent and four sibling terms (generally extended to parallel cousins) are found throughout the area. In general the kin terms are consistent with a system that includes matrilocal residence, matrilineal moieties, sororal polygyny, sororate, and asymmetrical cross-cousin marriage with the MoBrDa or FaSiSo.[9]

SOCIAL UNITS LARGER THAN THE FAMILY

616 619 621 Two permanent social groupings larger than the family or kin group may be distinguished in the Cassiar, the band and the moiety. It is scarcely possible to discern fixed economic or social classes, the latter term referring here simply to a distinction between rich and poor families. The term "band" designates the microcosmic extended family group with its unrelated hangers-on or adopted children. Several such units occupying contiguous districts constituted the unorganized and highly amorphous macrocosmic band for which we have used the word "tribe."[10] Beyond speaking a similar dialect and intermarrying, the component units of a macrocosmic band experienced little feeling of solidarity. Vague shifting boundaries further reduced the integration of these groups. As already pointed out, relatively large aggregates of people remained in temporary association around a fish lake in summer and winter. Such transitory villages, however, probably did not usually include an entire macrocosmic band, although the pattern of living and playing together, like marriage, must have counteracted feuding and thus strengthened the integration of the people in a territory.

596 622 *Upper Liard Kaska.* Bordering the twisting valley of the upper Liard River lay the territory exploited by the extended-family bands of the Natituˀagotena. Little could be recalled about these units except that on occasion, in winter and summer, many of them camped in one place (tenanatˀklone, "lots of people stay together"). Each of the migratory bands recognized a headman. As one informant said, "Before the arrival of the white men there were many bosses" (X). These leaders were primarily family heads so that, according to Chapple and Coon's system of analysis, true (i.e., interfamily) political organization remained only incipiently realized in aboriginal Kaska society.[11] The headman's ability as a hunter, a quality that attracted people to join his band, also helped him to accumulate wealth. When need required, his food resources were freely distributed among the band members. A leader held authority as long as he lived. Upon death a son succeeded to the position of family chief. Should the youth be a poor or indifferent hunter, any other man in the band might be called upon to assume leadership. The death of a headman probably caused a redistribution of the band's personnel around one or more new leaders. Leaders who lost competence found themselves ignored, the people adhering to a more intelligent man. The headman's functions transcended mere food getting. His wisdom derived from experience, and the ability to speak convincingly reinforced his authority in moral matters. When food resources ran low the

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[9] See below, pp. 131, 135.

[10] This terminology was first employed to describe the social organization of the Fort Nelson Slave. Honigmann, *Ethnography and Acculturation of the Fort Nelson Slave* (1946), 64-65.

[11] These writers have defined true political authority as arising when one individual or group originates action to persons other than his kin. Chapple and Coon, *Principles of Anthropology* (1942), 330.

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12

Upper Liard

headman encouraged men to hunt. He urged his followers to maintain peaceful relations 596
and reprimanded the lazy, with good reason for a chronically non-productive man represented a drain on the capacity of others.[32] The chief did not often try to punish adult 622
members of his band but could expel a person for certain crimes. Any man might express disagreement with the headman although he would be urged to "watch" his words. The informant appeared to recognize the description of a council and described such meetings at which discussion centered on important hunting plans or on an outbreak of in-group aggression. Men and women attended such deliberations but women never tried to speak. [623]

The dwellers on the upper Liard River were divided into two exogamous matrilineal 616
moieties, the Wolf and Crow. Slightly greater prestige appears to have attached to the Wolf section. According to one old man (X), who had come to the Cassiar as a boy 177
from Espatotena country, the Kaska lacked moiety division prior to the time when Tahltan Indians penetrated the area. When the latter encountered a Kaska Indian they said, "You're a Wolf" or "You're a Crow," thus classifying the population. At first the Kaska did not understand such talk. Eventually they adopted the dual division of the Tahltan.[33] A myth gives a more exotic account of the origin of moiety organization. The tale has been reported for the Pelly River Tutchone by Poole Field and was known 616
to our chief informant (O). The man previously referred to (X), who came from the east, 538
did not know the account. Following is the unedited version of the tale taken from Field's manuscript.[34]

> The animals were the first people and the smartest of all the animals, and the wisest were the wolves 616
> and ravens, the next was the wolverine. All the animals could talk and understand each other and can yet. The wolves and ravens intermarried and their children were Indians. They called the wolverine 539
> their brother-in-law and were very friendly with him.
>
> The wolves and ravens held a meeting and made a law that they would not marry any other animal, but a wolf was to marry a raven and a raven a wolf. The children would take their name from the mother, and their mother would own the country. Sisters and brothers, after they became of age, should not speak or play with each other; when a wolf died the other wolves should make a big feast for the ravens to eat and would find the raven presents but would eat nothing themselves. When a raven died he was to do the same for the wolves and so the world was started.

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[32] Hallowell's figures, which show that in hunting bands one male hunter supports about three persons including himself, appear to be borne out when other groups are examined. Hallowell, *Size of Algonkian Hunting Territories: Function of Ecological Adjustment* (1949); Honigmann, *Intercultural Relations at Great Whale River, P. Q.* (1952), 510.

[33] The question of the relationship of dual organization among the Kaska to the social organization of the Tlingit has still to be settled. Although social organization was more complexly developed on the Northwest Coast, the basic feature of moiety organization is similar between the two regions. Tlingit moieties, which were matrilineal and exogamous, are designated Raven (sometimes Eagle) and Wolf. The Kaska fire origin myth given above (see p. 61) suggests that certain animals were somehow closely "related." Thus the wolverine, fox, and black bear "belonged" to the crow; the grizzly bear and lynx were allied to the wolf. Swanton's evidence suggests a similar identification of grizzly bear with wolf among the Tlingit while Krause includes the (black?) bear here too. See Swanton, *Social Condition, Beliefs and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians* (1908), 398, 415-417, 422-423; Krause, *Tlinkit Indianer* (1885), 112, 122; Jones, *Study of the Thlingets of Alaska* (1914), 35, 44, 170-171.

[34] Field, *Unpublished manuscript* (1913), 10-11.

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12

Upper Liard
Dease River

616 591 Those laws are followed to the present day amongst all the Indians on the Yukon, Pelly, Teslin Lake, and Upper Liard, but the Mountain Indians do not.

616 Exogamous moieties regulated marriage. Members of one division also prepared the opposite group's dead for burial. The sides rendered protection to one another. On such occasions the members of each group adorned their faces with a particular colored paint, blue for the Crows and red for the Wolves. The designs, however, did not differ. When a large number of people camped together each moiety "rustled" wood for the fire, stacking poles in a single heap. Then they would slide the fuel into the fire, each side in succession adding one piece after the other. Afterwards the brothers-in-law (i.e., the men belonging to opposite moieties) sat around and talked. The practice of fire tending may be regarded as a simple rite of intensification,[50] serving to promote interaction between the segments and thus to contribute to the solidarity of the larger aggregate.

565 567 [177] Three social levels were distinguished in the pre-contact Kaska community, the rich, poor, and slaves. Social stratification on the basis of wealth is a prominent feature in the culture of the Pacific Drainage Athapaskans and is even more extensively developed among the Indians of the Northwest Coast. One informant (D) knew about an hereditary nobility among the Tlingit but stated firmly that the system of social stratification found there had no counterpart in the Cassiar. Such a statement is not unexpected in terms of the association to be anticipated between class structure and surplus wealth production.

556 565 A rich man, tenatla (the same word today is used to designate the Supreme Being), stood out among his fellows because he could support four or five wives, wore fine clothes, enjoyed more possessions, and employed occasional servants. His word received ready attention. "People always listened to a rich man." Wealth derived from skillful hunting and trapping. The poor man, tenecutsen?i?a, lived with a single wife and often found it difficult to provide even for her and their children. Poorer clothes distinguished the poor man and in group affairs his word carried little weight. Ideally, cordial relations existed between the rich and poor. If a rich man spoke harshly to his less fortunate peer the latter's supernatural power might desert him and all his ability to kill game would [798] be reduced. Under such circumstances helping a poor man would enable him to recoup his luck. Poor men who received assistance from wealthier people repaid such help by working for their patrons, for example, visiting the latters' deadfalls. In this way the 567 rich came to enjoy the labor of servants. A slave, elina (this is said to be a Tlingit word adopted into the Liard River vocabulary), represented a war captive. Inasmuch as the Kaska generally killed enemy male captives, slaves were usually women. A man sometimes referred in fun to his sister's children as slaves.[51]

621 622 *Dease River Kaska.* As late as 1928 Father Allard, an Oblate missionary stationed at McDame Creek, wrote, "All members of the tribe are free to hunt and fish over all the tribal territory. They hunt and fish in little bands of one, two or three families,—each family consisting of father, mother and children, with sometimes other members,

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[50] Chapple and Coon, *Principles of Anthropology* (1942), 484-486.

[51] See above, p. 77.

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12
Dease River

married or single.[8] Such a description represents the aboriginal pattern of Dease River 621 social organization. Each band recognized a "chief,"[9] or leader, who guided the people in hunting. Outstanding in his ability to secure game, a headman was also always a 622 rich man. Sometimes as many as seven families comprised his following. As a headman aged and became incapacitated, he relinquished his role in favor of a son or brother whose duties included caring for the retired leader.

All the Dease River Indians were divided into two moieties, [illegible] ("sides"), the 616 Wolf and Crow. The two sections represented exogamous units in which membership followed the matrilineal line. Potlatches promoted interaction between the divisions, the 431 members of which also prepared each other's dead for burial and competed in sports.[10]

Rich and poor men tended to stand out in the pre-contact community. The former 565 represented able hunters who managed to secure large quantities of meat and skins. Such abundance attracted followers and dependents who accepted their patron's au- 556 thority. These rich men also held positions of band leadership. The poor depended on the wealthy for food and skins. They made no return for such assistance. Sometimes a [478] man became temporarily impoverished as a result of losing his hunting "luck." Help to such a man was advantageous because he would certainly remember the generosity when his fortunes turned. Poverty, as long as it did not stem from laziness, provided no bar to marriage, but a lazy man received only laughter and jeers.[11]

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[8] Allard, *Notes on the Kaska and Upper Liard Indians* (1929), 24-25.

[9] When the Hudson's Bay Company entered the Cassiar, they appointed local chiefs to develop [171] trapping. The word is derived from this period. The "company chief" was provided with a generous amount of capital and received flour and tobacco to distribute to his "boys." Upon the Indians' arrival at the post the manager fired a gun to salute the executive. Prior to this period, informants agreed, no comparable leader existed among the Dease River people.

[10] Teit reports a more complex social system for the neighboring Tahltan. "Their social organization appears to be based largely on that obtaining among the Tlingit. Like the latter, they are divided into two exogamous phratries called Wolf and Raven (as is the case of the Kaska, the former is more important and is said to represent the original Tahltan people). Children belong to the phratry and clan of their mother. Each phratry consists of three clans or gentes, each of which has a hereditary chief and a territory of its own. These six chiefs form the governing body of the tribe. The clans do not have special totems, nor traditions deriving their origin from mythological ancestors. Crests and totems usually belong to the phratry. A seventh clan exists at the present day, having originated about 100 years ago through immigration of and intermarriage with the Tlingit. It belongs to the Wolf phratry, but has no recognized territory nor chief within the country of the Tahltans; it is called by its Tlingit name. There is an aristocracy of rank and wealth, but these nobles have no special rights to hunting grounds, fisheries, etc. Methods of obtaining rank, the potlatch, and many of the social and ceremonial customs of the tribe are clearly adopted from the Tlingit." (Teit, *On Tahltan (Athabaskan) Work* (1912), 484-485. See also Jenness, *Indians of Canada* (1932), 375.) Mrs. William Strong, of Vancouver and Telegraph Creek, B. C., loaned the present writer several photographs of a Tahltan potlatch held in relatively recent times. These showed men wearing dark cloth robes embroidered with what appeared to be crest figures and very similar to the robes often illustrated for the Northwest Coast.

In Lower Post we learned of only two exogamous moieties among the Tahltan, the Wolf and Crow. Teit's description of clans with territorial rights does not sound convincing and may refer to band divisions in the Tahltan nation.

[11] Slaves were reported for the Tahltan where one "chief," Nahnaha, is said to have held [illegible] captive workers. These hunted and fished for their master and were well treated. (Personal communication from